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SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF AMERINDIAN CONTACT VERNACULARS IN ECUADOR

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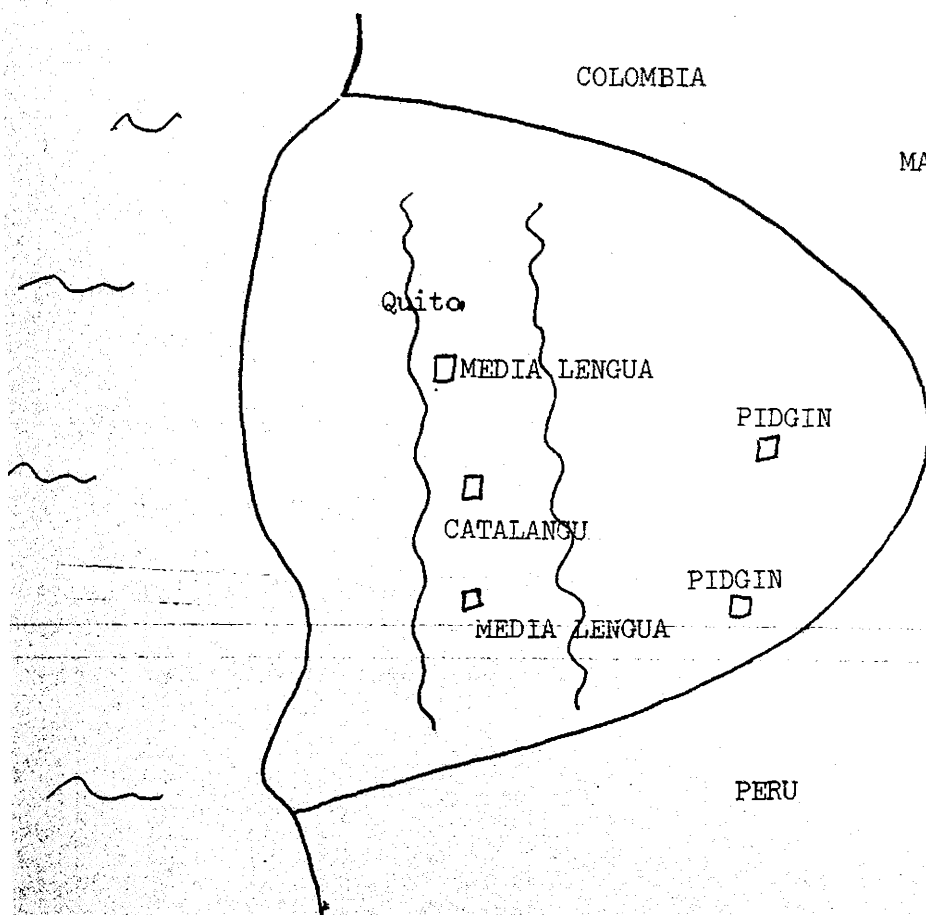
1. Introduction

The purpose of this set of notes is to make available some materials on Amerindian contact languages, as spoken in Ecuador, and to put them in a more general perspective. In earlier work I focussed on two linguistic systems: the rural Spanish of Quechua-speaking areas (Muysken, 1980a) and the Media Lengua as spoken in the Cotopaxi area (Muysken 1980b). Here other varieties are discussed as well, including the Amazonian Indian pidgins (section 3), varieties of Spanish Foreigner Talk as spoken to Indians and to non-Ecuadorians (section 4), stereotyped Indian Spanish as represented in popular literature (section 5), Quechua-Spanish interlanguage (section 6), the Media Lengua spoken around Saraguro, Loja province (section 7), and finally, the contact vernacular Catalangu spoken around Cañar, Cañar province (section 8). These notes will begin by presenting the contrast between Ecuadorian Quechua and Spanish (section 2) and conclude with some general remarks of a speculative nature (section 9).

In this survey a number of Ecuadorian contact vernaculars are not discussed, simply because they have not been studied. These include: the speech of Indian migrants in the major cities of Quito and Guayaquil, characterized both by mixing of several Quechua dialects and by Quechua-Spanish interlanguage fossilization; the jargon used in the Amazonian oil fields, which have drawn their work-force heavily from speakers of Lowland Quechua, especially in the divisions of exploration and communication; the varieties of Quechua and Spanish spoken around Cuenca, Azuay province. No doubt other contact vernaculars will be discovered as well, as research on the Andean linguistic situation develops a wider range of investigative techniques, particularly direct recording of spontaneous conversation.

On Map I the major varieties discussed in these notes are schematically located.

MAP I: the distribution of the contact vernaculars



In discussing the Ecuadorian situation, always a clear distinction must be made between the Andean and the Amazonian regions. They can be contrasted as follows: (a) In the Andean region we find at present only one Indian language, Quechua, while in the Amazonian Lowlands a number of languages are spoken, of which at the present moment Lowland Quechua and Shuar are the most important; (b) In the Andean region there has been continuing and pervasive contacts between Indians and Whites for four hundred years, while contacts in the Amazon remain sporadic even at the present moment. To be sure, as Map I shows, Catalangu and Media Lengua are spoken in the Andean Highlands.

2. Quechua and Spanish in Ecuador

Most probably, Quechua does not antedate Spanish very much in Ecuador. While there may have been some speakers of Quechua as a lingua franca prior to the Incaic conquest, around 1440, the majority of the population of Highland Indians did not speak Quechua (but some pre-Inca tribal language) at the time of the Spanish conquest around 1540. It is highly unlikely that any Quechua was spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon at that time. The Spanish conquerors did not immediately impose their language upon the Indian serfs and peasants, but rather encouraged the use of Quechua, in the beginning the Indian language of elite intertribal communication, as a general language of the Indian caste. At present Quechua has the status of an oppressed language, used by over a million Highland Indian peasants, but held in contempt by most Whites and mestizos. Spanish is the majority language in contemporary Ecuador, spoken by everybody except by the Indian peasants in the Highlands (some of whom are also bilingual) and by tribal groups in the Amazonian and Coastal Lowlands.

Present-day Ecuadorian Quechua presents a considerable amount of phonological variation, but little syntactic and morphological variation. Sources include the dictionary by Stark & Muysken (1977), a pedagogical grammar by Stark et al. (1973) and a syntactic description of the verb phrase by Muysken (1977). In many ways it resembles the Quechua II dialects of Southern Peru and of some region in Northern Peru, but it differs from all these dialects by its considerably simplified morphology. This simplification could be accounted for by assuming that Ecuadorian Quechua has its roots in a pre-Incaic Coastal trade language which Torero calls Chinchay Standard (1974), itself a simplified version of a Coastal Quechua II dialect.

Present-day Ecuadorian Spanish has been described most completely by Toscano Matteus (1953). There are considerable lexical and phonological differences between Coastal and Highland Spanish, on the one hand, and between educated urban Spanish and different rural varieties on the other hand. On the whole Ecuadorian Spanish conforms to the generalization that holds for all varieties of South American Spanish: many archaic Peninsular features have been preserved, and the dominant dialectal influence have been the Andalusian dialects of Southern Spain.

When we consider mutual Quechua-Spanish influence, the picture is quite complex. First of all, there are two interesting Sprachbund phenomena, both involving liquids:

(1)	Quechua	Spanish		
North	[ʒ]	[ʒ]	[aʒi] 'good'	[poʒo] 'chicken'
South	[ɺ]	[ɺ]	[ali]	[poɺo]
(2) North	[r̥]	[r̥]	[rinr̥i] 'ear'	[per̥o] 'dog'
South	[rr]	[rr]	[rrinrri]	[perro]

In the Northern Andes the Spanish and the Quechua palatalized [ʎ] is pronounced as a voiced palatal fricative, and in the North the Spanish and the Quechua flapped [rr] is pronounced as an alveo-palatal voiced fricative. Other cases of phonological influence are hard to find. Possibly the voicing of stops in the Central Ecuadorian Quechua dialects was encouraged by the presence of voiced stops in Spanish and in Spanish loans.

Lexically, the influence of Quechua on Spanish has been slight, limited to the domains of agriculture, food, flora and fauna, the household and family, and exclamatives. Spanish lexical influence on Quechua has been pervasive in many regions, where we sometimes find up to 55 % Spanish borrowed vocabulary (types) in spoken (not elicited) Quechua. Domains of borrowing include dress, kinship, tools and machines, social status, commercial, social celebration, religion, time reference, cosmos and topography, measures, and psychological states. Both in Quechua and in Spanish the use of vocabulary from the other language has sociolinguistic and stylistic connotations.

Syntactically and morphologically, Quechua has had considerable influence on the Highland varieties of rural Spanish. We will return to this in the section on Quechua-Spanish interlanguage and its being embedded in popular Spanish (6). Morphological and syntactic influence of Spanish on Quechua appears to have been rather slight, although it has not been adequately studied yet. We find Spanish diminutives in Quechua (3) and Spanish agentive markers (4):

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| (3) <u>wasita</u> 'house' | (Sp. <u>itu/ita</u> , e.g. <u>pollito</u>) | Southern Highlands |
| <u>wawkiku</u> 'brother' | (Sp. <u>icu/ica</u> , e.g. <u>ratico</u> 'moment') | Northern Highlands |
| (4) <u>awadur</u> 'weaver' | (Sp. <u>dor</u> , e.g. in <u>trabajador</u> 'worker') | Southern Highlands |
| <u>wachachilun</u> 'midwife' | (Sp. <u>lon</u> , e.g. <u>dormilón</u> 'sleepy') | Saraguro, Loja |

These suffix borrowings are in no way regular and only rarely productive. Only -itu/-ita is marked for gender in Quechua, in as yet little understood ways. Quechua -ku is invariant for gender and occurs only with names for humans. Saraguro Quechua -lun does not function as an agentive in Spanish, but rather to mark a characteristic of a person.

Syntactically, we may think of several ways in which Spanish has influenced Ecuadorian Quechua. First of all, we find in the speech of most Quechua speakers, bi- or monolingual, the use of Spanish conjunctions such as i 'and', piru 'but', in addition to Quechua conjunction suffixes. Second, we find occasional subordinating markers such as porke 'because' and prepositions such as sin 'without', but only in the speech of bilinguals. Third, we find instances of SVO or VSO order instead of SOV order for some speakers, although Ecuadorian Quechua as a whole seems to be stricter in maintaining SOV order than most Peruvian Quechua dialects. This is probably because verbal marking for person is less extensive in Ecuadorian Quechua, especially in subordinate clauses.

We will finish this section by systematically presenting some of the contrasts between Quechua and Spanish, contrasts which are relevant for the interpretation of the materials given in the following sections.

(5) QUECHUA

SPANISH

-XV dominant word order	-VX dominant word order
-verb marking	-verb marking
(1) main clauses tense/person	(1) finite clauses tense/person
(2) extensive nominalization	(2) <u>-r</u> infinitives
(3) <u>+</u> proximate gerundials	(3) <u>-ndo</u> gerundials
	(4) <u>-do</u> past participles
-argument marking NP CASE	-argument marking (P) NP
-- <u>ga</u> topic marker	-topic marked by intonation and pauses
-validation semi-obligatory	-validation periphrastic and optional
- <u>mi</u> affirmative	- <u>es que</u> affirmative
- <u>shi</u> hearsay	- <u>dicen que</u> hearsay
- <u>cha</u> dubitative	- <u>quizas que</u> dubitative

As we discuss individual contact vernaculars, we will return to the features of Quechua and Spanish presented in (5).

3. Amazonian Indian Pidgins

We find numerous references to, but no detailed study of, Spanish-based Amerindian pidgins spoken in the upper Amazon. In an 1886 travel account Simson writes (1886: 227):

I called two of the most intelligent Indians and cross-examined them thus, in the language usually spoken by the Piojés who have come into contact with more civilised people, and which may be called Pidgin Spanish.

He gives the following examples:

- (6) ese canoa andando Consacunti cuando será llegando ese Tonantins tiene?
'this canoe going Consacunti when will be arriving this Tonantins has got'
así luna será tiene
'thus moon will be has got'
ese Consacunti, Carapaná llegando, más lejos será tiene ese Carapaná,
'this Consacunti, Carapaná arriving, farther will be has got this Carapaná,
Tonantins llegando?
Tonantins arriving'
sí, mas lejos tiene
'yes, farther has got'
ese Consacunti saliendo luna asi tiene, Carapaná llegando luna donde será tie
'this Consacunti leaving moon thus has got Carapaná arriving moon where will l
has got
no será así tiene?
'not will be thus has got?'
tuyo no sabiendo leña cortando
'you not knowing wood cutting'
tuyo chacra cortando no sabiendo tiene, mujer no será cojiendo
'you land cutting not knowing has got, woman no will be taking'
tuyo tabaco fumando no queriendo tiene
'you tobacco smoking not wanting has got'

We do not know how accurate his data are, but since his account also contains fairly extensive references to the Indian language Záparo, we may expect some linguistic sensitivity on his part.

4. Foreigner talk

Foreigner talk may be characterized as the characteristic modified speech which native speakers use to non-native speakers of a language. In the Ecuadorian context, the group of non-native speakers of Spanish includes both Indians and foreigners. The speech addressed to these two groups is very different.

Modifications which Ecuadorians introduce when speaking to foreigners include:

- (8) a. the use of infinitival endings on all verbs
b. absence of articles and most prepositions; frequent copula deletion
c. no subordination
d. the use of mucho as an adverb of degree.
e. adoption of English-type phonology and expressions

We will give examples here followed by a reasonable paraphrase in non-foreigner talk Spanish:

- (9) mister Quito ir?
usted se va a Quito, mister?
'are you going to Quito, sir'

esto ser mucho bueno
esto es muy bueno
'this is very good'

Quito ciudad muy linda
Quito es una ciudad muy linda
'Quito is a very beautiful city'

no te gusta? no gustar?
no te gusta? no te gusta?
'don't you like it? don't you like it?'

no de aquí, Guayas
yo no soy de aquí. soy de Guayas.
'I am not from here. I am from Guayas'

ahí correo
ahí queda el correo
'there is the post office'

Essentially, the foreigner talk directed to non-Ecuadorians is quite similar to the foreigner talk described in the literature (cf. Ferguson & De Bose, 1977). It involves frequent imitations of the foreign way of talk, frequent repetitions, etc.

The data on the interaction between Whites and Indians were recorded on the market. A total of 23 conversations were recorded, totalling 50 minutes. The market interaction is characterized by long bargaining sessions, joking, the going away of the customer, and a certain theatrical quality: there is always an audience participating. Linguistically, we find the following features:

- (10) a. the use of specific forms of address:
I. polite and used with any Ecuadorian adult (70)
casero, casera, caserito, caserita, señora, señores
II. familiar, endearing, slightly marked (13)
jovencito, negrito, gordito, hombre, madre, chica, casona, negrita, madrecita
III. impolite or endearing, but marked for Indians (40)
mamita, mijito, hijito, papito, papacito, cholito, huambrito, achimamita, papá, tayticu, cholo, tayta, hijo

Another, far less explicit, source is Gill (1940). He writes about his guide in the jungle:

León is by way of being a wilderness linguist. He speaks both the Quechua of the mountains, and the Quechuas of the North and central Oriente, as well as the Jívaro tongue and the odd dialects of more remote tribes.... Like most Indians who can use that language (Spanish - PCM) he speaks entirely in the present participle, every verb ending in "ing", without reference to time, person, or number....

Here, of course, we must assume that "ing" refers to Spanish -ndo. Gill's description raises the interesting question of the function of the Spanish pidgin: was it used only in communication with Whites, or did it also have a function in intertribal contacts? Sorensen's (1972) description of widespread extreme multilingualism in the Colombian Amazon region suggests that among tribes the pattern was multilingual communication, and that the pidgin only emerged through contacts with White colonists coming in from the Highlands. This would also be in accordance with the close connection which G. Sankoff establishes between pidgin genesis and European colonial domination (1979).

Gnerre (1977) reports on Jívaro Spanish Pidgin, basing himself on a number of written sources. The pidgin has the following features:

- (7) a. "Verb in the gerundive form"
- b. "The verb form está meaning 'to be, to be characterized by'"
- c. "SOV word order"
- d. "The main sentence verb following the subordinate sentence verb (coherently with the SOV basic order)"
- e. "General absence of prepositions (with the exception of a,...)"

Looking back at the data presented in (6), we see that most of Gnerre's conclusions also hold for the variety described by Simson in the late 19th century. There are also some differences, however:

- ~~(7)'b. In Simson's data it is not the verb estar that is overgeneralized in its use, but rather the future of the verb ser, i.e. será lit. 'he will be';~~
- f. We find the generalized use of Spanish tiene 'has got', probably as an emphatic marker;
- g. the Spanish demonstrative pronoun ese 'that' is used as definite marker or as an article;
- h. While in Gnerre's data the second person pronoun is vos '(informal) you', Simson has tuyo '(intimate) yours'.

From the materials available to us it is unclear to what extent the features given in (7) and (7)' are conventionalized, i.e. correspond to a pidgin learnable as such, or to what extent they correspond to products of incomplete acquisition of Spanish as a second language. The features reported on by Gnerre, in (7), are also characteristic of Quechua-Spanish interlanguage, as we will see later. Most of the features in (7)', on the other hand, look like specific and conventionalized elaborations on an impoverished interlanguage system, i.e. more like true pidgin features.

Another problem is the role of the Amerindian languages in the formation of these pidgins. Probably, the role of Quechua was very minor, but in the data given by Gnerre frequent examples of Jívaro are found lexically. This uncertainty makes it to some extent difficult to compare Amazonian Spanish Pidgin to Highland vernaculars.

- (10) b. the use of both polite and impolite pronouns and verbal endings when addressing Indian customers. In Spanish, a clear morphological distinction is made between usted (polite) and vos (impolite, familiar) verb forms. Counting direct repetitions of the same verb (e.g. traiga, traiga! 'bring, bring!' as only one token and disregarding the frozen form hële 'have it, here', we found that of a total of 250 verb forms used to address an Indian customer, two thirds of the cases (168) involve the polite form (the unmarked form between adult strangers), and one third (82) the familiar form, which is highly marked in this context. When the pronoun is used we find 42 times usted (or the dative/accusative clitic le corresponding to it) and only 8 times vos (or the corresponding clitic te). It may well be that the use of a familiar pronoun is even more marked for a specific foreigner talk register than the use of a familiar verb form.
- c. frequent deletion of articles and of the copula
 - d. frequent use of diminutives
 - e. frequent repetitions
 - f. fairly normal syntax

5. Stereotypes of Indian Spanish in popular literature

The Ecuadorian Highland popular literature studied here consists of sainetes, brief skits written by (ex-) schoolteachers to be performed by grade school students on festive occasions such as Mother's Day or Independence Day. They are printed in the regional capitals and they are widely known particularly in semi-literate areas. The Indians represented appear as laborers or street-sweepers. Examples of their speech include the following:

- (11) ni cupita tan hi prubadu, sulu ispirandu en su mercé nu más istuy
'I have not even tasted a cup, I am only waiting for you'

si pasú pis, diju tan di qui nu ti avisi a vus
'he did go by, he said also not to tell you'

habiendu ca, cumu nu pis
'if there is some, why not then?'

cuntandu miso istuy ... dispuís ya dandu hambri, livantí pis a incuntrar
'I am actually counting ... afterwards when I got hungry, I got up to

cumidita y in calli tan sospira qui ti sospira, inspira qui ti inspira
fund food and in the street sighing what you sigh, waiting what you wait'

al venir puistus alpargatis ga, jui ra pis, habieran hichu flicus, antis
'coming with sandals put on, it's gone, they would have made them skinny,

didu nu mas is pis, cun tal qui alpargaticus istín a salva
before it is only toe, provided that the sandals are there'

Although the texts are far from consistent, a number of linguistic features recur frequently:

- (12) a. phonetic changes of the mid vowels to high vowels: /o/ becomes u,
/e/ becomes i;
- b. about one third SOV word order;
 - c. infrequent article and copula deletion;
 - d. frequent gerunds;
 - e. use of ca or ga (written separately from the word preceding it) as topic markers;

- (12) f. use of tan (from Spanish también 'also') as an indefinite marker and as a negation emphasis marker;
- g. use of nu más (Spanish no más 'no more') as a delimitative marker;
- h. frequent use of diminutives;
- i. use of pis (Spanish pues 'then') several times in one utterance;
- j. some Quechua vocabulary;
- k. alterations of Spanish words, e.g. hay from ahí 'there', misu from mismo 'self', curqui from por qué 'why';
- l. occasional absence of gender agreement, e.g. cara fiero 'angry face'.
- m. irregular verb forms, e.g. dijió from dijo 'he/she said'.

Interestingly enough, these characteristics do not appear, on the whole, in the foreigner talk addressed to Indians, while the speech of foreigners as it is represented in the same sainetes does resemble the speech addressed to foreigners. In (13) we give some examples, and in (14) some features of the stereotypes speech of foreigners are presented.

- (13) yes, yes, yo quegeg segvig a Osté
'yes, yes, I want to serve you'

mi ser enviado por Cómpany Insurance paga asegugag vidas en Sug-Ameriqué
'I am sent by the Insurance Company to insure lives in South America'

el Cegugo de Vida seg mocho Bueno. Ud. mogig y tu dejag familia esegugada
'Life insurance is very good. You die and you leave your family insured'

yes, un poquita cosa Quito ser una ciudad mocho bonito
'yes, a little bit Quito is a beautiful city'

bueno decir osté ahora cómo llamarse una maleta?
'good, now you say ... what is a suitcase called?'

- (14) a. in some sainetes r is replaced by g, probably because of the tendency of French speakers to velarize the Spanish r;
- b. u is often replaced by o;
- c. infinitives occur instead of inflected verb forms;
- d. yo 'I' is replaced by mi 'me';
- e. frequent deletion of subject pronouns, articles, and copulas;
- f. mocho instead of muy 'very';
- g. use of intimate tu instead of polite usted 'you';
- h. frequent absence of gender agreement, e.g. un poquita cosa 'a little bit', una ciudad mocho bonito 'a very beautiful city';
- i. English and French vocabulary.

6. Quechua-Spanish interlanguage

A large section of the Highland Indian population is bilingual in Quechua and in Quechua-Spanish interlanguage. The latter represents a scala from very rudimentary to near-native Spanish. Here we will only describe the speech of a very recent learner of Spanish, a 14 year old boy who recently moved from his monolingual native village to a regional market town to work as a cargador, a load-bearer. He only speaks Spanish (a) when interacting with clients; (b) when buying food in a store. For the rest, he lives together with six men from the same village.

The following description is based on an hour and a half of recorded conversation, sometimes together with other load-bearers. We will first present a number of fragments of recorded discourse, and then attempt an analysis of

these, following the format of the previous sections.

(15) -yo no, aún sabemos castellas tan ahí-ca barrio chiquito

'I not, not yet we know Spanish there small village'

-así trabajando me voy, no pudiendo trabajar, mano todito entró no más
'thus working I go, not being able to work, whole hand entered just

espino, de goto también entra no más
thorn, also enters just'

-por eso tan no aguantamos mi soplido no más cogiendo me voy no más mi
'therefore not we stand it my advance just taking I just go my income

cobrado mi pago también. Ahí mismo está pago.
my pay also. Right there is the pay'

-aquí-ca buscando carga no más es. Nada más tan. Buscando carga, encon-
'here it is just looking for loads. Nothing else. Looking for loads, we

tramos, cargando, ir, no encontramos, no ir. Sentamos. Así no más es.
find them, carrying, go, we don't find them, not go. We sit. Just like that'

-según lo que cuadra indo, caminando. Cuatro cuadra juindo, cuatro sucres
'according to block going, walking. Four block going, four sucres

mismo. Cinco cuadra jué, cinco sucres mismo. Así, así me cojo. Así-ca
exactly. Five block went, five sucres exactly. Thus, thus I get. Thus

día lunis saco veinte sucresitu. Día martes saco quince sucres.

Monday I get twenty sucres. Tuesday I get fifteen sucres.'

-todo indo a Machachi yo solo quedando cocinando comemos no más, no tengo
'all going to Machachi I only staying cooking we just eat, I don't have.

Papa tan sí sabo pelar. SI? Sí sabe pelar, todo sí sabe. Sí sabe. Papa
Potatoes I can also peel. YES? Yes, can peel, everything I can. I can.

Papa también pelo no más. Machachi indo a la feria día domingo quedamos
Potatoes also I just peel. Machachi going to the fair Sunday we stay

en la casa en la carpa quedamos cuidando, quedamos-ca lo que da la gana
in the house in the tent we stay watching, we stay what comes to mind

come hago. Qué arrosicu, qué papa frito, qué cosa, yo solo no más.

he eats I make. What rice, what fried potatoes, whatever, just I alone'

A detailed analysis of the recordings suggests that the interlanguage of this speaker is characterized by the following features:

- (16) a. of the relevant cases, 68 % presents SXV word order. In the rural Spanish of native speakers the percentage is ± 10 %, in the Quechua of the region ± 85 %. Other load-bearers have about 40 %.
- b. the verb marking is highly irregular. We find frequent use of 1st plural and 3rd singular for 1st singular forms, irregular past tense, regularization of irregular verbs, etc.
- c. very frequent is the use of the -ndo gerundial marker (16 % of the total number of verbs). We find verbs marked with -ndo as main verbs (2 %), in verbal complements (3 %), in non-proximate adverbial clauses (2 %), in proximate adverbial clauses (8 %), and in progressives (1 %).
- d. 36 % of the prepositions obligatory in Spanish have been deleted; this concerns primarily locatives and directionals.
- e. we find frequent use of the Quechua topic marker -ca or -ga.

- (16) f. plurals are only infrequently marked. We need to investigate the possibility that the occurrence of plural marking is determined by the same factors as the also variable plural marking in Quechua;
- g. frequent deletion of the definite and indefinite articles;
- h. the use of enclitic tan (from Spanish también 'also') as a negative emphatic marker or as an indefinite marker;
- i. clause juxtaposition (whereby the relation between the propositional content of the different clauses needs to be inferred) instead of subordination;
- j. the use of memorized chunks, fixed expressions from Spanish;
- k. no directly evident Quechua morphology or lexicon;
- l. overgeneralized use of familiar vos as a second person singular marker.

Of course, some of the features of this incipient Quechua-Spanish interlanguage are highly ideosyncratic. This concerns particularly (16) b., verb marking, and (16) d., absence of prepositions. Other speakers show overgeneralization e.g. of the third person singular to other persons, rather than of the first person plural. In addition, we find frequent use of the se reflexive marker overgeneralized to non-reflexive verbs. As to prepositions, we frequently find not absence of prepositions, but overextension of the Spanish 'objective' preposition a to other contexts. Examples of these tendencies are given in (17):

- (17) primero conversamos a los gentes
'first we talk with the people'

mi hermano se cocina
'my brother cooks'

se llueve
'it rains'

Much more study needs to be done on the range of variation existing in Quechua Spanish interlanguage systems, and on 'mesolectal' developments.

7. Media Lengua

Although several varieties of Media Lengua have been reported, we have studied only two: the speech of several communities around Salcedo, Cotopaxi province, and the speech of at least one community outside of Saraguro, Loja province. Since in earlier work (e.g. Muysken, 1980^b) only the first variety was systematically discussed, we will focus here on the second variety.

What is Media Lengua? Essentially it is a form of Quechua with a vocabulary almost completely derived from Spanish, but which to a large extent preserves the syntactic and semantic structures of Quechua. Thus one of the most interesting aspects of Media Lengua is the relation between its grammar and its vocabulary. Before we discuss this relation, we will present examples which were elicited from a group of 11-12 year olds.

- (18) ML donde-manta bini-ku-ngi
Q may -manta shamu-ku-ngi 'where are you coming from?'
where from come PR 2s
- ML miu-ta awa-naya-ku-n
Q ñuka-ta yaku-naya-ku-n 'I am thirsty'
I AC water DES PR 3

- (18) ML miu-kuna aki-pi bibi-nchi
 Q ñukanchi kay-pi kawsa-nchi 'we live here'
 I PL hereLO live 1p
- ML anda-sha kiri-ni Kwenka-man
 Q ri -sha muna-ni Kwenka-man 'I want to go to Cuenca'
 go 1FU want 1s Cuenca to
- ML undi-pi puni-rka-ngi miu punchu-ta
 Q may pi chura-rka-ngi ñuka punchu-ta 'where did you put my poncho?'
 whereLO put PA 2s I poncho AC
- ML si masiado llubi-kpi no anda-sha-chu
 Q yalli tamia kpi mana ri sha chu 'if it rains too much I won't go'
 'too much rain SUB not go 1FU NEG
- ML Xwan sabi-n uste asi-shka-ta-kari
 Q Xwan yacha-n kan rura shka ta(-kari) 'John knows what you have done'
 John know. 3 you do NOM AC EMP

The first thing that strikes us in the vocabulary of the sentences presented in (18) is that the Spanish irregular verbs have either been replaced or regularized in Media Lengua. Examples are given in (19), where for the sake of comparison, data are given as well for the Media Lengua of Salcedo and for Catalangu, which is to be discussed in the next section:

(19) ML-SARAGURO	ML-SALCEDO	CATALANGU	SPANISH
anda-	i-	anda-	ir 'go'
(bamuchi	bamuchi	bamuchi	vámonos 'let's go'
dali-	da-	da-/dali-	dar 'give'
bia-	bi-	bi-	ver 'see'
asi-	azi-	asi-	hacer 'do/make'
rii-	ri-	riyi-	reir laugh'
dentra-	dintra-		entrar 'enter'
dizi-	dizi-		decir 'say'
benditu-	bindizi-		bendecir 'bless'

This regularization could be due either to the fact that in Quechua also all verbs are regular, or to a process of formal simplification accompanying the relexification.

Just as Quechua, Media Lengua has a number of impersonal verbs with animate objects. While they are based on Spanish vocabulary, they have no direct Spanish equivalent:

(20) Quechua	yarka-	chiri-	yaku-naya-
ML-Saraguro	ambri-	fria-	awa-naya-
ML-Salcedo	ambri-na(ya)-	chiri-	awa-naya-
Catalangu	ambri-naya-	friyi-	
Spanish	dar hambre	hacer frío	tener sed (de agua)
	'feel hungry'	'be cold'	'feel thirsty (for water)'

This type of modelling on Quechua lexico-syntactic frames, using Spanish vocabulary is the dominant process in the formation of Media Lengua.

A striking example is the pronominal system. For reasons of brevity, we will only discuss the personal pronouns here, presenting the Quechua system together with the Media Lengua systems, Catalangu, and Spanish.

(21) QUECHUA	ML-SARAGURO	ML-SALCEDO	CATALANGU	SPANISH	
ñuka	miu/yo	yo	yu	yo	'I'
kan	ústi	bos	ústi	vos/tu/usted	'you'
pay	el	el	isti	el/ella	'he/she'
ñukanchik	miukuna	mustru	{nustru nustrukuna}	nosotros	'we'
kankuna	ústikuna	boskuna	ustidis	ustedes	'you'
paykuna	{elkuna isikuna}	elkuna	elloskuna	ellos/ellas	'they'

The gender distinctions of the third person singular and plural, and the politeness distinction of the second person singular, characteristic of the Spanish system, have disappeared in Media Lengua and Catalangu. The distinctions made in the Quechua system have been preserved. It is difficult, however, to see whether just relexification is involved, or generalization in terms of an unmarked six-term system. Consider, for instance, the marking of the plural pronouns. In ML-SARAGURO we find /miu-kuna/ 'we', using the Quechua plural marker /-kuna/, while in Quechua the form is only indirectly related to the singular pronoun: /ñuka/ 'I' -- /ñukanchik/ 'we'.

We find a number of ways in which the grammar and lexicon of Media Lengua differ from those of Quechua. For Saraguro the differences include:

- (22) a. Word order. In Media Lengua a good number of sentences show SVX order, while this is less frequent in Quechua. Without detailed quantitative study of both varieties in the Saraguro area it is difficult to say, however, how different they are on this point;
- b. Possessives. In Quechua, all possessors, with the exception of first person singular and plural, have to be marked with genitive /-pa/. In Media Lengua it is possible to delete /-pa/ always, except with the third person singular and plural pronouns.

Manuel-pa kasa 'Manuel's house'

Manuel kasa

el-pa kasa 'his house'

* el kasa

- c. Conditionals. In Quechua conditional clauses are undistinguishable from temporal clauses; both are formed with the affixes /-shpa/ 'proximate' or /-kpi/ 'obviative'. In Media Lengua we find the optional Spanish conditional /si/ 'if' added as well:

si masiado llubi-kpi no anda-sha-chu
if too much rain OBV not go 1FU NEG
'if it rains too much, I won't go'

- d. Obligation. In Quechua we find an obligation construction in which the main verb appears with the nominalizing suffix /-na/, followed by the copula:

ri-na ga-ni 'I have to go' (lit. I am to go)
go NOM be 1s

In Media Lengua we find instead of the copula the verb /tini-/ 'have' in an otherwise similar construction:

- (22) d. miu anda-na tini-ni 'I have to go'
I go NOM have 1s

It is quite possible that this construction emerged in Media Lengua under the influence of the Spanish construction tener que 'have to'.

- e. Wh-words. In Quechua we find a difference between human and non-human, and between independent and attributive, in the inventory of the wh-words. In Media Lengua we find one generalized non-locative wh-words, /kin/; derived from Spanish quién 'who'.

kin-ta asi-ku-ngi 'what are you doing?'
what AC do PR 2s

kin kebra-rka bentana-ta 'who broke the window?'
who break PA window AC

kin kuchillu-wan uste pan-ta korta-rka-ngi
which knife with you bread AC cut PA 2s
'with which knife did you cut the bread'

- f. Pronouns. In Quechua, pronouns are often deleted when non-emphatic. This does not appear to be the case in Media Lengua. Again, a more detailed study is needed.

8. Catalangu

Catalangu is in many ways, both formally and sociolinguistically, related to the Media Lengua described in the previous section. It is spoken in the Cañar province by that part of the Indian population living close to the provincial urban centers. The present study, which can be considered as no more than exploratory, was done outside of the town of Cañar. The two most likely derivations of the name "Catalangu" are:

- (23) castellano --- catalangu

castilla lengua (Quechua: castilla shimi) --- catalangu

These names both suggest that Catalangu is a kind of Spanish, and indeed it is much closer to Spanish than Media Lengua, of which it was pointed out that it is actually a form of Quechua with Spanish vocabulary.

We will begin by presenting a number of sample sentences from Catalangu, before going on to a more systematic analysis:

- (24) a-kin-ta-pi buska-ri-ndu 'who are you looking for?'
ACwho AC EM look INC GER

ami-ta xwin ambri-naya-ndu 'I am very hungry'
me AC very hunry DESI GER

yu tuyu amigu-ruku 'I am your friend'
I your friend EM

ellos-kuna Sigsihuaicu-manta es 'they are from Sigsihuaicu'
they PL Sigsihuaicu from is

kumida-ka sabruzu sidu 'the food turns out to be very good'
food TO good been

kasa-pi-ka nuway nadin-pis 'there is nobody in the house'
houseLO TO there is nobody EM

yu-ka nu pudi-gu asi-r isti-ta-ka 'I can't do this'
I TO not can 1s do INF thisAC TO

We discussed already in the previous section the process of verb regularization in Catalangu and its pronominal system. Here we will briefly discuss a few of its other characteristics.

Verb marking is highly variable. 28 % of the verbs in our sample received the -ndo gerundial ending, 49 % Spanish more or less regular endings, and 22 % newly formed endings. The latter category is the most interesting. We find four cases of a /-gu/ first person ending:

- (25) yu-ka Pedro llama-gu
 I TO Peter call 1s
 'I am called Peter'
- yu-ka nu kiri-gu
 I TO not want 1s
 'I don't want it'

Most probably, it derives from the Spanish irregular ending -go in tengo 'I have', traigo 'I bring', caigo 'I fall', vengo 'I come'.

There is some evidence that Catalangu has developed an aspect system with four distinctions:

- (26) V-ndu unmarked present
 ista V-ndu progressive aspect
 V-du perfective aspect
 tara V-ndu potential aspect

The progressive aspect appears in sentences such as:

- (27) ki ista-s asi-ri-ndu
 what ASP 2 do ME
 'what are you doing?'
- ki asi-n-ta-s-pi
 what do ASP 2 EM
 'what are you doing'

The second variant is more similar to the Quechua version of (27):

- (28) ima-ta rura-ku-ngi
 what AC do ASP 2s
 'what are you doing?'

The perfective aspect we find in (29), the potential in (30):

- (29) Manuel kurta-du-pis la manu
 Manuel cut ASP EM the hand
 'Manuel has cut his hand'
- (30) kin tara bihi-ndu
 who POT come
 'who might be coming?'

While the analysis of the Catalangu verbal markers remains tentative till more data are available, it should be clear in any case we have a system here which deviates from both Quechua and Spanish.

Almost half non-subject NP's in our sample receive no case marking. Accusative case /-ta/ is deleted most often, followed by locative case /-pi/. Only two cases were found of the use of Spanish prepositions, both involving a:

- (31) Juan-ka parisi-Ø a su papa-pi
 John TO look 3 his father EM
 'John looks like his father'

- (31) miu-pa tiyu isu-pi mata-r al wagra
 I GEN uncle had EM kill INF bull
 'my uncle had the bull killed'

In most non-accusative contexts, we find Quechua case marking.

Besides /-ka/, a topic marker which also occurs in Quechua and in rural Spanish, Catalangu presents two other independent suffixes, /-pi(s)/ and /-ruku/. /-ruku/ is derived from Quechua, where it occurs both as an adjective ('old (of men)') and as an augmentative nominal suffix:

- (32) allku-ruku 'big dog'
 dog big

In Catalangu it occurs as a degree marker and as an emphatic affirmative marker, in both cases translatable as 'indeed':

- (33) llubindu-ruku ista
 raining it is
 'it is really raining'
 yu-ka tuyu amigu-ruku
 I TO your friend
 'I am really your friend'

The suffix /-pi/ resembles Quechua locative /-pi/, but is probably derived from Spanish pues 'well, then'. Its use and placement still need to be investigated:

- (34) yu-ka awa-pi kai-pis
 I TO waterLO fell EM
 'I fell in the water'
 kasa-pi-ka nuway nadin-pis
 houseLO TO not be nobody EM
 'there is nobody at home'
 Luchu-ka asi-pi enseñar-pi bin
 Lucho TO makeEM teach EM well
 'Lucho teaches well'

We can conclude our discussion of Catalangu by noting its partial resemblance both to Quechua-Spanish interlanguage and to Media Lengua, in addition to its many original features.

9. Concluding remarks

It is much too early to attempt an integrated account of the varieties briefly described in the previous sections. We noticed several similarities between some of them. A more systematic representation follows in (35) on the next page. We find at least three processes operating in the genesis of the contact vernaculars mentioned:

- (a) processes of second language learning, largely responsible for Interlanguage, and in part for the Amazonian Pidgins described and for Catalangu;
- (b) processes of autonomous grammar formation, which we find in the Amazonian Pidgins and in Catalangu, and somewhat in both forms of Media Lengua;
- (c) processes of relexification, which we found in Media Lengua and somewhat in Catalangu.

The process of Foreigner Talk reduction is systematically related in the case of foreigners, to popular stereotypes about foreigners' speech, but in the case of Indians it is not at all imitative of stereotyped speech. Quechua-Spanish interlanguage does not share many features with the type of foreigner talk addressed to interlanguage speakers.

(35) schematic representation of the features of the different vernaculars

	Q	Sp	PID	FT _f	FT _I	IS _p	FS _p	IL	ML	CTL
<u>verbal</u>										
V-ndo in MC			+			±		+		±
Q VM	+								+	
Sp VM		+			+	±	±	±		±
general copula			+							
∅ copula				+	±	±	+			
V-r				+			+			
<u>nominal</u>										
Q case	+								+	±
Sp P		+			+	+	+	±		
∅ P			+	+				+		
∅ case										±
ese article			+							
2s tu		+				+	+			
vos		+	(+)		+	±		+	(+)	
usté		+			+				(+)	+
tuyo			(+)							
∅ article	+			+	±	±	+	+	+	±
∅ agreement	+					±	+	±	+	+
<u>sentential</u>										
% SXV order	H	L	H	L	L	M	L	H	H	M
SuCl MC order	+	-	+			±	-	+	+	
tiene			+							
tan						+		+		
nu más		±				+		+		
pis		±				+		+		+
-ka/-ga	+					+		+	+	+
-pi										+
-ruku										+

- PID = Amazonian Pidgin
 FT_f = Foreigner Talk directed at foreigners
 FT_I = Foreigner Talk directed at Indians
 IS_p = Indian Spanish in popular literature
 FS_p = Foreign Spanish in popular literature
 IL_p = Quechua-Spanish interlanguage
 ML = the two varieties of Media Lengua
 CTL = Catalangu
 H = high
 M = medium
 L = low

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